11: Karolyi E-4, 5 (no date) 1931? EC1 Hungary EC1

the ancestral horsemen's dance, which has become an organic element of Hungarian national life. The Hungarian dancer dances in an erect, proudly dignified, and even defiant posture. As told, the foot soldiers of the medieval Hungarian armies danced differently, and their dance had many foreign features, such as the squatting, characteristic of the Slav tribes surrounding Hungary who lived and fought on foot. It was only natural that with the dissolution of the mercenary foot-regiments the practice and the memory of their dances were soon forgotten. The only surviving trace of their dance is found today in the dance of the pig-herders and sometimes shepherds of a few regions, herders and shepherds who, in contrast to the Hungarian cowboy and horse-herder, do not ride and were never enrolled as Hussars.

The Hussar is the natural product of the Hungarian race and its ways of life. Nobody else but the Hungarian lads were ever considered good enough to make Hussars in Hungary, and, as we have seen, even abroad. Recruiting ordinances and conventions from the early sixteenth century specify that none but Hungarians may be recruited for Hussars, and a Hungarian newspaper article of 1789 states that "the Austrian Emperor's recruiters are beating the land, but *no Slovaks, no Germans, and no redheads will be accepted*..." The famous Hungarian Hussar general and poet, Count Gvadányi, in a poem from 1793, puts the following illuminating words into a recruiting sergeant's mouth: "Say, Lieutenant! Look at that lad! He is a Hungarian, and that is why he is worth a lot of newcomers! His place is among us, and we will sign him up at once!" The "newcomers" were Slovak, German, Serbian, and Roumanian immigrants, who came to Hungary first in their flight before the Turk or after the withdrawal of the Turk to replace the Hun-

11: Karolyi E-4, 5 (no date) 1931? EC1 Hungary EC1

535 garian population so terribly devastated during two
702 centuries of continuous warfare.

The whole institution of recruiting was based on the Hungarian folk-dance — partly because of the universally known and proved fact that a good dancer made a good horseman and thus a good Hussar, but also because the recruiters, who were shrewd practical psychologists, knew that the dance-loving Hungarian lads would be unable to resist the lure of Hungarian music and the enticement of the dance. They knew that the enchanted lads would sign up sooner in the self-intoxicated state of the dance than under any other form of persuasion. So recruiting always appeared in the form of a brilliant little military pageant with a g[illegible] itinerant celebration carrying an appeal to instinct and imagination, which Hungarian youth could not resist. It was built upon the Hungarian folk-dance, which stirred the senses of the most desirable recruit, that of the enterprising and light-hearted Hungarian peasant lad who loved to dance and knew how to do it.

The coming of the recruiters was a thrilling event The recruiting gang, a group of stalwart young Hussars clad in brilliant new uniforms, with spurs clicking on their shiny high boots, were smart to the utmost according to all standards. The rattling of heavy cavalry sabres, the rhythmic swing of sabretaches, the sway of snow-white heron egrets on scarlet shakos, and the haughty, light-hearted demeanour of the recruiters formed a sight which thrilled the imagination.

What recruiting really meant is clearly reflected in the literature full of colour and life of the period. One of the foremost Hungarian poets of the time, Joseph Gvadányi, was a Hussar general, in his youth a popular recruiting officer; another, G. Czuczor, was son of a famous recruiting corporal, himself an excellent dancer.

11: Karolyi E-4, 5 (no date) 1931? EC1 Hungary EC1

Their poetic descriptions of the recruiting dance are so vivid, so detailed, and so accurate that their reading instantly brings back to life this peculiar Hungarian institution. In Gvadányi's poems we read that at just the right moment the music of the gypsy band struck up, the recruiters took their positions, and when they began to dance the audience was gaping with admiration, beaming with delight. Some of the livelier lads among the onlookers started to click the rhythm with their heels and gradually began to "put" the figurations of the dance. Cleverly the recruiting sergeant approached the best-looking of these lads and, in his glib-tongued way, told the awed youngsters all about the miraculous beauties of Hussar-life. He offered them a drink, pressed a shiny new silver dollar into their hands, surreptitiously put shakos on their heads, and drew them, as if by chance, closer and closer into the dancing-circles. Before they realized it, the lads were signed up, and off they went with the recruiters.

Because it is so illuminating we quote in full Czuczor's more technical description of the recruiting-dance as he saw it done by his father and as he danced it himself at the height of the vogue of professional dancing:

> We are standing in the market place of a small rural community where the peasantry of the environs gather. All at once from behind the picturesque throng, we hear the clear-ringing sound of the tárogató, the excited shouts of the crowd, and floating above the multitude we perceive the swing of colourful egrets. Then, surrounded by the retinue of bustling peasant lads, suddenly appears the recruiting gang. Well in front walks the recruiting sergeant, earnest of mien, stiff and important. He does not hop or click his heels like his men, nor does he sing,

11: Karolyi E-4, 5 (no date) 1931? EC1 Hungary EC1

535 but every one of his steps beats out the rhythm. He
702 swings his cane with the music, and, stepping out with coquettish grace, holds his sabre in such a way that his sabretache strikes his leg at every step. A few steps behind come the recruiters, surrounding the recruiting corporal, whose rank and importance is immediately apparent even if we do not notice his hazel cane or the braiding of his shako. His bearing is officious and haughty. It is as though he were floating forward with his well-marked elastic steps. He is not so composed as the sergeant, but not quite so hilarious as are the common recruiters. His deportment is smart, and his simple, yet expressive movements are closely followed by those under him; he is the master of the dance. The recruiters follow him with a nonchalant but nevertheless smart demeanour. They click their heels, and clap their hands while they beat out their sharp, ornamented steps. They walk round the market-place until the best spot is found, and the sergeant signals to them to stop. They form a circle with the corporal in the middle; then to the tunes played by a uniformed gypsy orchestra the recruiting-dance begins. There are no dance-steps during the first few verses, which only help the men to get the measure by clicking their spurs or by simply walking round the dancing-circle. Then we see a few dance-steps, either conventional ones or some designated by the corporal whom they watch closely, at the same time keeping an eye on their *vis-à-vis* as well. This part of the dance mostly follows in a determined order, and the opening steps are rather simple. If the measure of the song is of eight beats, then two steps are made to the right, one to the left, again two to the right,

11: Karolyi E-4, 5 (no date) 1931? EC1 Hungary EC1

one to the left, concluded by a double step, bringing the dancers back to position. 535 702

This part is repeated five or six times and is followed by the "ornamental", which is livelier and more impetuous than the preceding part. In the "ornamental", vigorous leaps upward and in all directions are well in order; the accompanying rattle of sabres and the swaying sabretaches help to complete the perfect image of a truly heroic dance. Like the expressions of all violent emotions, the music and the dance calm down to resume their former stateliness and dignity. The whole dance is then repeated in the same sequence two or three times, whereupon the sergeant signals to them to stop, and the gay gang of recruiters moves on.[1]

From these descriptions and from all others we know that the Hungarian recruiting-dance can be visualised vividly. The descriptions themselves, and the fact that any lively peasant lad could dance along with the recruiters — often the best of these joined in a recruiting squad as recruiters on the spot — prove conclusively that the recruiting-dance was nothing else but the somewhat regulated and solemnized group-version of the "slow" and "ornamental" men's dances themselves — that is, the man's part in the Hungarian folk-dance. In keeping with the occasion, it was performed with stress on the spectacular and danced with exceptional grace and dig-

[1] In one of his poems Czuczor describes the beginning of the recruiting dance somewhat differently: "The music is on, let us start; let us click our heels in perfect unison, then make three light jumps to the right, then three to the left, and beat out the rhythm of the music with our spurs." As a matter of fact there were as many variations of the recruiting dance as there were recruiting gangs, although really they were always the same.

11: Karolyi E-4, 5 (no date) 1931? EC1 Hungary EC1

535 nity, as one could expect from such excellent dancers as
702 the recruiters were.

The recruiting-dance carried its importance and its attraction in the appeal to that craving for importance, that yearning for the unusual which lies hidden in every one. By stirring, intoxicating, and exalting the dancer, it attained its purpose. Today as ever, the good peasant dancer feels, and as a matter of fact is considered by his fellow villagers, superior. The very best dancers only can take part in the recruiting-dance, under the leadership of the outstanding dancer who is known as the recruiting master, wherever it is still done.

The institution of recruiting was discontinued with the introduction of general conscription in Hungary in the second half of the nineteenth century, but the recruiting-dance as a glorified version of the Hungarian folk-dance has survived and is still widely danced in its more or less original form, by the best male dancers, young and old, in various parts of Hungary.

535 The recruiting-dance also survives in a somewhat corrupted local version in the Hungarian regions of Transylvania as part of the *Csürdüngölő*, the barn-dance. There it is often known as the *Legényes*, that is, the single young men's dance. A dance of this name is also done in some parts of the great Hungarian plain, and, like the other, is derived from the original recruiting-dance.

Barn-dancing as such has been an age-old institution in Transylvania. It is a dance by which the village celebrates the completion of a farmhouse or of a barn constructed by the co-operative work of the whole community. The word *Csürdüngölő* means literally stamping of the barnfloor, and any and all dances danced at the celebration may be classed as such. Practically all are some local forms of the Hungarian folk-dance, into which at

the people, consolidate social assets, increase the economic strength of the Hungarian People's Republic, raise the living standard and cultural level of the workers and strengthen the people's democratic system. 642* 641

Article 60.

Military service is the honorable duty of the citizens of the Hungarian People's Republic in accordance with the law on universal military service. [702]

Article 61.

1) Defence of the home country is the sacred duty of all citizens of the Hungarian People's Republic. 642* 687

2) Treason, violation of the military oath, desertion to the enemy, espionage and every action detrimental to the military strength of the country, — constituting a betrayal of the cause of the country and of the workers, — is subject to the severest penalties of the law.

SECTION NINE

The Electoral System.

Article 62.

1) Members of Parliament are elected by the citizens of the Hungarian People's Republic on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot. 642* 666

2) The elected members are accountable to their constituents.

3) The constituents have the right to recall their elected member of Parliament.

Article 63.

1) All citizens of the Hungarian People's Republic who are of age have the right to vote.

2) Enemies of the working people and those who are unsound of mind are excluded from the suffrage by law.

Article 64.

At elections every citizen entitled to vote has one vote and all votes are equal.

Article 65.

All citizens who have the vote are eligible for election.

Article 66.

Details of the election and recall of members of Parliament are laid down in a special Act of Parliament.

19

Hungary EC1

entire proceedings in the matter of the conspiracy."[32] The Soviet Commander thus made it clear that the Communist clique in the Ministry of Defense was to be given a free hand in disregard of the nominal Minister.

This pattern of infiltration, dual power, and conspiracy is the same as that in all the satellite countries in the years 1945-48. There were, however, three rather distinctive features in the Hungarian development, all of which arose out of the character of Hungary's participation in World War II.

First, there was no corps of wartime officers with a record of collaboration with the Soviets. As we have already noted, the Russians had fewer high Hungarian officers whom they could use in 1945 than they did in Romania because the officer corps was partly pro-German and had made far less effort against Germany in the last days of the war. A majority of Hungarian officers did not follow Miklos but continued to fight against the Russians. Furthermore there was virtually no underground activity against the Nazis in Hungary. The handful of individuals in our sample whose biographies contain some record of anti-Nazi underground activities are almost invariably Jews. Not only was a group who had made an anti-Nazi record relatively lacking among the Hungarian officers at home. There had also been a relatively minor effort by ex Hungarian prisoners of war whom the Soviets re-trained. There were hundreds of thousands of Hungarian prisoners in the Soviet camps but there was no r[illegible] Hungarian Army recruited among these. There was no Soviet-sponsored force comparable to the Polish Army on the Eastern Front nor to the Tudor Vladimirescu and Horia-Closca-Crisan Division formed by the Romanians. The Soviets did indeed organize some forces out of the PW camps, but as we shall see, they were relatively minor. There was therefore no officer cadre allied to the Soviets on whom the Russians could draw for military leadership.

A second distinctive point in Hungarian development is that the Jewish minority played a more significant role in the Hungarian Army than elsewhere, and a third is that a tightly-knit clique around Palffy began in 1947-48 to take control of the army.

To explain these three points, we turn to our sample of Hungarian generals who have been active in the period from 1945 to now. Our sample consists of twenty-one career officers (of whom four remain in the army, the other seventeen having been purged) and twelve new Communist generals (none of whom have been purged to date). We shall examine the origins and careers of these thirty-three men.

1. The Available Sources of Recruitment

The generals used since 1945 came from a number of different sources. There was, as we have noted, no one obvious source of recruitment for the Communists comparable to the Polish or Romanian Soviet-controlled army which fought on the Eastern Front in World War II, or for that matter comparable to the western armies of the Polish and Czecho-

9: Pool S-4 (no date) 1954 E1 Europe
Hungary EC1

slovakian governments-in-exile. The sources were the following:

a. Career Officers Who Went Over to the Russians. Four of the Hungarian officers in our sample were officers who had gone over to the Russians along with Miklos at the end of the war, but as we have already seen, there were relatively few such officers and on the whole they did not last long in the new army because of their gentry and Horthyite backgrounds. Three of the four capitulators in our sample were purged in 1945 and one lasted until 1950.

b. PW's. The Hungarian prisoners of the Russians included, of course, both officers and enlisted men. Our sample of postwar generals includes five former PW's, of whom three were already career officers and two were enlisted men raised by the Communists to officer rank.

There were quite a few Hungarian prisoners of war, the Hungarian Second Army of 150,000 and the much smaller Hungarian First Army having been pretty well smashed on the Eastern Front. The prisoners were organized and propagandized by Hungarian Communists who had been living in Russia for many years. The leading figures in this effort were Sandor Nogradi, now Deputy Minister of Defense, and Geza Revesz, now Inspector General of the Land Army. They organized a number of Hungarian partisan units and Nogradi served as liaison officer between these partisan units and the Red Army. They also started to organize the first independent Hungarian Division, for the leadership of which they chose artillery captain György Porfy.

Porfy, who was born about 1909, went to cadet school in Hungary and to the Ludovika Military Academy, the Hungarian officers' training school. He fought on the Eastern Front in 1941 and 1942, at which time he was captured. Proving himself amenable to Communist blandishment he was sent for a one-year military course in Leningrad and to a Communist party training school. After taking part in the formation of the first independent division he returned to Hungary and was made deputy city commander of Budapest in 1946. His role in those years was as a leading security officer. He next appears, after the Communists had completely taken over the Hungarian Army, as a major general and Inspector of Artillery, or in other words, head of the artillery department of the Ministry of Defense. As a career officer and graduate of the Ludovika he did not last long, however. He was reported arrested in 1950.

In our sample the two PW career officers have been purged, one in 1950, one in 1951. The three PW enlisted men, who have since become generals, survive. An interesting example of the latter is Major General Ferenc Janossy.

Janossy was a Protestant clergyman. He had, however, the misfortune to have some Jewish blood and so in Axis Hungary he was assigned not to the regular army but to the Jewish Labor Brigade. There he served as chaplain to the Protestants of Jewish descent in